

SECOND ADDRESS
TO THE
FREEHOLDERS
OF THE
COUNTY of OXFORD,

IN VINDICATION OF
A FORMER ADDRESS
AGAINST

The WRITER of a Letter to the PRINTER,

WITH

A LETTER to the FREEHOLDERS of *Oxfordshire*,
containing some few CANDID REMARKS, &c.

*Men who profess a State of Neutrality in Times of publick
Danger, desert the common Interest of their Fellow-Subjects;
and act with INDEPENDENCE to that Constitution into
which they are incorporated.*

The FREEHOLDER.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. BOUQUETT, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, and sold
at the Pamphlet Shops. 1753.



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SECOND ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS the Approbation, with which the Address was generally receiv'd that some time ago was made to you, shews, How acceptable a plain and dispassionate Enquiry into the Merits of the two Interests, now contending for your Favour, is to you: So, on the other Hand, the long Forbearance of the Writers on the opposite Side to return any publick Answer to it, no less discovers, How little agreeable such Enquiries, though ever so fairly conducted, are to Them, and to the Cause which they are concern'd to recommend. These, Gentlemen, it must be confess'd, are very liberal in entertaining or amusing you with slight Songs or Ballads, and now and then a short wordy Declamation; but with great Caution avoid any regular Discussion of Facts, or the entering into any just Reasoning upon them. Facts, they know, and Reason, are of a strong and obstinate Nature: They do

not care to meddle with them. They chuse to skirmish with lighter Weapons, fitter for their weak Manner of engaging: not considering, perhaps, how poor a Compliment they in the mean Time make to your Understandings; by presuming, that in the Choice of your Representatives in Parliament, you will entirely be influenc'd by ridiculous Rhimes or meer Words, and are not fit to have any Application made to your Sense and Judgment on so serious an Affair.

At length indeed a Writer has ventur'd to step forth from the Side of that Party, resolv'd to try his own Abilities and the Strength of his Cause, in rendering some Sort of formal Answer to the Address before mention'd. But whatever Opinion the Author himself, or the Gentlemen, in Favour of whom it was wrote, may entertain of this Performance, I find it necessary with regard to myself to declare, that I should be asham'd to take Notice of it in any other Light, than that having been so long in preparing, and being afterwards distributed by the chief Persons of the Party, it seems to be the Produce of the Deliberations of the whole Body of the Old Interest, in Defence of itself, against what is advanc'd in that Paper. As a Work then containing, if not the Language, at least the Sentiments of a Body of Men, it may deserve, whatever it's real Merit be, not to be entirely neglected: and the more especially, as this Method of a regular Debate was first set on Foot by the Friends of those, who oppose the
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Old Interest; and therefore, it may be presum'd, ought to be persued by them upon such Materials, as their Adversaries afford them.

I ought perhaps to make an Apology for the Severity of some of the Observations, which the Remarker may provoke me to make; but I trust, when you shall have consider'd the Occasion of them, you will not think, that either He or his Cause hath been unfairly handled.

In the Title-page then this Writer thinks proper to inform you, Gentlemen, that his Letter to you contains, "Some few candid Remarks;" and in his Letter to the Printer he says, he has "Ventur'd to communicate them *for the Sake of Truth.*" These, you may say, are only Professions of Candour and Truth. But I am not unwilling to acknowledge, that he has in Fact shewn some Instances of them, where thro' Modesty (perhaps) he has omitted openly and avowedly to lay in his Claim. Particularly, I think, he shews even an uncommon Degree of Ingenuoufness, in confessing concerning his own Performance, and that too so early as he does, his own Apprehension of the Dulness of it: And, moreover, in the Hint he so honestly gives of the Principle by which he himself is govern'd, by advising his Printer to print off his Work, though ever so dull, from the sole Motive of Self-interest. He had observ'd at this Time among you, Gentlemen Freeholders of the County, a general Inclination and just Desire for Information in a Matter, that so much concern'd

concern'd you ; and suppos'd the great Demand for Intelligence of that Kind a fit Opportunity for him to utter, what he had to dispose of, tho' of ever so ill a Quality. This may be esteem'd a Mark of his Wit ; and if you shou'd look upon him in the Light of a Fishmonger, who wou'd sell stinking Fish, and poison his Neighbours with them ; yet it is certainly no small Proof of his Fair-dealing, that he so openly cries them as such.

I am likewise inclin'd to ascribe it to the natural Openness and Ingenuoufness of his Temper, that whereas in his Title-page, as was before observ'd, he had, for wise Reasons no Doubt, put on the Disguise of Candour ; yet with great Concern, lest his Readers might possibly be deceived, and fancy, he really intended to exercise any Thing like it in his future Remarks, he instantly and in the very Beginning of the previous Letter, throws off his Mask, and declares, that he must in Justice acknowledge, that he finds nothing on the Side of the "*Old Interest*" but "*Wit, Humour, Reasoning ;*" and nothing but "*Abuse, Scandal, Scurrility,*" on the Side of what he calls the "*New.*"

Having pointed out these Proofs or Samples of my worthy Adversary's Candour and Love of Truth ; I come now to consider the Remarks themselves, on which, so far as they refer to Facts of Consequence, I must beg Leave to argue a little more closely with him.

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The first Thing, Gentlemen, in the Letter is a sudden and vehement Attack upon the first Thing in the Address. He calls the Account there given of the Nomination of the Candidates, at the Meeting on the 15th of February last, a "Bold Assertion," nay, an "*Asperſion*." In the Beginning of that Account it is indeed asserted, that "the Nomination was made unanimously". But he cou'd not surely mean, that his Epithet "*Bold*," shou'd be understood of that Assertion; since there appears no Shadow of Reason to imagine, that the Fact was otherwise, or well cou'd be otherwise, than as it is asserted. And with no greater Degree of Propriety can the Appellation of Boldness be applied to what is said in the next Place; that "the Nomination was made at a larger Meeting of the Landed Interest, than perhaps was ever assembled in the County to prepare the Way to an Election that was likely to be contested." The Letter-writer himself observes, that the Word *Perhaps* is made use of in this Sentence, and with such Meaning, as to admit, that what is advanc'd in it may be false. How then can he charge Boldness on an Assertion, which in the very Form of it, and by his own Confession, leaves room for the contrary Assertion to be true, if it were only prov'd. But for his Part, he does not so much as make the least Attempt to produce any Kind of Proof or Evidence, that the contrary of what was modestly, though (as it seems) on good Grounds advanc'd,

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is true; but contents himself with boldly asserting, that "*On Examination it will appear certainly to be so.*" And what to others, if not to his Friends, may make his Conduct in this particular appear perhaps a little odd, is, that he thus takes upon him boldly to assert himself, in the very Instance where he is charging Boldness in asserting, as a Fault in another; who yet, he sees and owns, does not so much as positively assert any Thing. Though, if the Matter in Question had been indeed propos'd ever so positively and absolutely, it wou'd nevertheless have been true, for any Thing this Writer or his Party (so far as I have heard or seen) have attempted to prove on the Contrary. This however is evident to all; that if this Meeting was not absolutely the largest, that ever was in the County on the like Occasion, it was much larger, and compos'd of Gentlemen of much greater Distinction and much ampler Property, than that at which the other Candidates were nominated; as appears from the publish'd List of the Meeting, and from the Shame of the adverse Party to publish theirs. And this may be enough to convince you, on which Side the greater Part of the Landed Interest of the County is; and that it *is not* on that Side, on which your Truth-loving Letter-writer wou'd insinuate, that it *certainly is*.

But though this Meeting were ever so large, yet this Remarker has what he calls "*Reasonable Objections*" to it; which the "*Author*"
of

of the Address, seems, " passes by unnotic'd "; probably upon a Presumption, that it wou'd not enter into the Head of any candid, of any reasonable Man, to make them. But now, they shall be pass'd by no longer; since he has been so obliging, as to make it not improper to take Notice of them. These Objections are, That " the Meeting on the 15th was *irregular* and *un-constitutional*: That it was *irregular* for this Reason, as at a prior Meeting the Opinion " and *Sense* of the County had put in Nomina- " tion Ld W——n, and Sir J— D———." *

Now the Summons to the prior Meeting, which he refers to, invited only the Gentlemen of the Old Interest to be present at it. It excluded from it all the Gentlemen of Rank, of Family, of Fortune, who were not of that Interest. These all were rejected with Contempt, as unworthy to bear a Part in the very Disposal of the Honours of the County, as unworthy to have the least Share in the Nomination of the Persons design'd to be their Representatives. And yet the Opinion and *Sense* of that Part only, which thought proper to meet in Obedience to so arbitrary and partial an Invitation, this Writer very *wisely* gives out as the Opinion and *Sense* of the whole County. On the other Hand, the Summons for the Meeting on the 15th was to all the Freeholders of the

* See their Advertisement on this Occasion.

County, without Distinction or Exception to any ; And at this Meeting, thus duly and regularly call'd together, and in Number, and in all respects greatly superior to the other, Ld P——r and Sir E——d T——r were unanimously nominated. At this Meeting therefore, if at either, and not at the prior one, were express'd the Opinion and *Sense* of the County ; and that so largely, as in all probability they never were express'd before on the like Occasion. Nevertheless this Mouth of his Party is so void of *Sense*, as in Contradiction to these notorious Facts, to assert otherwise, and to pronounce the former Meeting *regular*, and the latter *irregular*. I cannot forbear to declare, being provok'd to it by so bold an Assertor, and having good Reason to believe, that in this Particular, as in all the other, he only speaks publicly, what the Rest of the Party propagate privately ; that I never knew or heard of another Instance in any Party of such impotent Contemptuousness, such impudent Insolence in a vain Presumption of Superiority, such affronting Ingratitude to a County, not even to a common Borough, as this unjust and absurd calling together a Part to nominate for the Whole. Nor do I see, if a previous Meeting be necessary, as it is customary, for the Nomination of Candidates, How Ld W—— and Sir J—— D——, having been not yet duly nominated, can be consider'd as Candidates at all. Be this as it will ; you have, Gentlemen, in this Fact, a most plain Proof of
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the Vanity of the Pretensions of this Party to Regularity, to Impartiality, to Justice, to an Affection for You, and a tender Regard for Your Rights and Liberties; since from this one Instance, if there were no other, there is all the Reason in the World to suspect, that their Principles wou'd lead them to take away, if they cou'd, the very Right of electing, as well as of nominating, the Representatives of the County, from all the Freeholders of it, who wou'd not patiently and implicitly submit to their arbitrary and unwarrantable Proceedings.

I now go on to consider the other "*reasonable Objection*," which this Representative of the *Reason and Sense* of his Party has thought proper to make to the same Meeting. He says, "It was *unconstitutional*," as there was "*a great Number of P—rs* then and there present." Now if it were ever so unconstitutional for P—rs to be present at such Meetings, it is doubtless very unbecoming in this blind Pleader to raise an Objection to one Meeting, which equally bears against that, which he is defending; For it is notorious, that at the Meeting, where L—d W——n and Sir J—s D——d were nominated, that one P—r was present, the only one in the County these Gentlemen had Interest enough to prevail upon to be present; that he presided at it, and in a set Speech open'd the Design of the Meeting, and accordingly recommended and press'd the Nomination of Candidates out of the Gentlemen of the Old Interest; And as no-

torious, that there have been P—rs present *at all the Meetings* of this Party on the like Occasions, during the whole Time they have been in Credit and taken to themselves the Direction of this Part of the Affairs of the County. Nevertheless my modest Antagonist asserts, that the Nomination of these Gentlemen was *Constitutional*; and doubtless means the same Thing of *all* the Nominations, that have been, or shall be made, at the Meetings of the same Party, though *ever so many* P—rs have been or shall be “then and there present.” Now, tho’ I am inform’d by good Authority, that there is no Law in England, by Statute or by Custom, against the Presence of P—rs at such Meetings, it is needless however in the present Dispute to come to any Determination about that Question; since if such Presence were ever so unconstitutional, the two Nominations before us are subject to the same Objection, and neither has in this Respect the Advantage of the other.

By such Actions, and by such Arguments as these it is, that these Gentlemen are prov’d to be “Masters of extraordinary Merit,” in all Respects, and more particularly to have a peculiar Affection to *the Constitution*; or rather, to what is *not the Constitution* of their Country.

It is certainly very condescending in this Writer to own, that in the Encomium, (as he is pleas’d to call it,) given in the Address, of Ld P——r, and Sir E——d T——r, it is “not directly and openly” asserted, that their Competitors

petitors "are not so well qualified to represent
 "you," as they. It plainly was not the Intention
 of the Author of the Address in that Part of
 it to declare a Preference on either Side. He
 was only sketching out a short Description of
 the Qualifications of the Gentlemen he thought
 well of; and among the Rest, which justly be-
 long'd to them, that of a "*sincere* Attachment
 "to his Majesty KING GEORGE, and
 "the Establish'd Government in Church and
 "State." He left it free to the Writers of the
 other Side to say the same Things of the Gen-
 tlemen they favour'd, if they thought proper,
 and believ'd it in their Power to do so. But
 when so fair an Opportunity, or rather an al-
 most unavoidable Necessity, of saying something
 of the Qualifications of his Gentlemen, in these
 Particulars, was thus thrown in his Way; this
 bold Assertor upon other Occasions, now mani-
 festly declines affirming any Thing of them, as
 to these Matters. He does not deny or call in
 Question in the least the Truth of the Charac-
 ters, as apply'd to Ld P——, and Sir E—d
 T——; yet he says, he "fears," that with regard
 to Ld W—— and Sir J— D—— there is some
 "*covert*" or "*unjust*" Design in these Charac-
 ters "to impose upon you," and "to make
 "you think *thus meanly* of them, and of Conse-
 "quence *much worse* of them than they deserve."
 This then is the Passage, I doubt not, which
 this *candid* Remarker charges, on the Author of
 the Address; as an "*Aspersions*" upon these
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Gentlemen. Nevertheless I will not be so *uncandid* towards him, as really to suppose any Aspersions or unjust Reflection contain'd either in his Silence, that these Characters do belong to his Friends, or in his strong Insinuation, that they do not, since he may be presum'd to know the Gentlemen better than one, who pretends to no *particular* Acquaintance with them.

It wou'd be great Abuse, Gentlemen, of your Patience, and Time very unnecessarily and idly spent by me, to take Notice of every Thing, that my judicious Antagonist thinks proper to advance upon his own Authority, or upon the Soundness of his own Opinion and Judgment. But I must not omit to point out one very curious Passage of this Sort, which wonderfully discloses his great Ability and Talents for making Decrees, and his undoubted Qualification to sit as Judge, in a Court of Inquisition. The Passage I mean, is that, wherein he formally passes Sentence; that "so Just, so very Equitable is "the Claim" of the Gentlemen he wou'd impose upon you, "that he who doubts or disbelieves in this Article", (of his Catholick Faith, as one wou'd imagine,) "is not only a "Jew, but he must be a new Jew, a Jew of a "very modern growth and transplanting." To pass by the Henleian Oratory of this Sentence, and to keep to the plain Meaning of it; you know, Gentlemen, what a Spirit of Indignation and Abhorrence is now raised throughout the Nation against the Jews; more particularly by the

the Party, of which this Writer professes himself; to that Degree, that one wou'd not wonder, if without the least Regard to common Humanity they were instantly stripp'd of their Possessions, and driven destitute and naked out of this good Country, the most famous for the amiable Profession of Christian Moderation and Charity. And you see, if you happen even to doubt of what this Party blindly believe in the Article only of the superior Merit of these two Friends of theirs, how they rank you under the same Denomination with that truly accursed People; and doubtless, think you worthy of the like Treatment. But if you dare to be Disbelievers or downright Infidels in *all* the Articles of their Political Creed, what must remain for you, but Fire and Faggot, if they were properly capacitated to execute their good Wills *towards you*?—I am sensible, Gentlemen, that this may appear to some, who do not know the true Spirit of the Party, like taking Advantage of this Writer's want of Caution to urge these Things: But those, who know it, will readily perceive the Truth and Justness of what has been thus urg'd, even if this Writer had not afforded me so fair an Opportunity to do so. The Language in this extraordinary Sentence is perhaps his own; but the Sentiments are assuredly the very Sentiments of his Party. They are, and ever were of an insolent and persecuting Spirit. The Nature of their Principles determines them to be so.

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The next Remark, worth notice, concerns the Association. With regard to it, this Writer says, that HE will tell you, what the Candidates of the old Interest did on that Occasion. The Amount of what he says, if any thing, is in plain Words no more, than that in fact they attended in Parliament, and did not appear at the Association. He does not say, that this was their real Motive for not being at the Association; or that, if their suppos'd Duty had not call'd them to Parliament, they wou'd certainly have attended at the Association. This indeed their Advocate does not so much as hint. Nevertheless, if the most hearty Espousers of the Cause of these Gentlemen in the County, (I do not mean the Roman Catholicks; what I am going to mention might not very reasonably be expected of them; but) if a considerable Number of their other Friends, who call themselves Protestants, had, while they were in a Hurry to attend at Parliament, appear'd at the Association, one might have presum'd, that their particular Absence was possibly owing to some Scruple or punctilious Nicety about their Duty, and Preparation for an early Attendance. But when the real matter of Fact is, That the Association was two Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, (the Association being on the 15th, and the Meeting of the Parliament not till the 17th of *October* 1745;) and that those Gentlemen of the Association who had Seats in Parliament were most of them present

sent in Parliament the very first Day of its meeting, (which shews, that the being at the Association was not inconsistent with the most early Attendance in Parliament :) — Yet that of the Gentlemen of the Old Interest, who had also Seats in Parliament, none attended at the Association; and a late Representative of the City of *Ox—d*, tho' in *Oxford* the very Day, and at the Time of the Association, seem'd to think it of more Consequence to be then solliciting the Subscription to the Town-Hall, than to be once present at the Association: And that the rest of these Gentlemen quitted the Country either just before, or on the very Day of the Association; and when at the Association some wonder'd, that the Members of the County were not present, and a Person very politely said the handsomest thing that cou'd be said in favour of their Absence, a Friend of theirs with much Warmth declar'd, that to his certain Knowledge no Body had Authority to make any Excuse or Apology for their Absence: — And moreover, that out of the whole Number of their very good Friends, who remain'd in the Country, and had no call to Parliament, nor to any other Business more important, than the joining with those who were engaging themselves and Fortunes in the Defence of their Country, no considerable Number of these Gentlemen of the Old Interest then appear'd on so distinguishing an Occasion, and of the few that did appear, some designedly slipt away without subscribing: — What can one think of this Matter? — The Plea indeed, which their Advocate makes in

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the Pamphlet that lies before me, seems to me a very extraordinary one, and every Word of it extremely remarkable.

Then says He, " they, each of them, attended their respective Duties, whether publick or private." How? " They WAITED THE COMMANDS OF HIS MAJESTY, strictly adher'd to the *Laws of THEIR Country*, and pursued every Step, which THEY thought correspondent and agreeable to THAT *Constitution*, to which THEY are MOST FIRMLY attach'd, and for the Preservation of which THEY will *at all Times* exert themselves with a most *truly British* Courage and Resolution. This Writer and his Party wou'd certainly laugh at any one, who cou'd not understand his meaning in these Words. Nevertheless that the Truth of what he thus daringly advances, may not rest upon his Word only, I will help him to some Evidence beside what has been already produc'd, for the farther Illustration of what he says. One Fact is enough. You know, Gentlemen, 'tis universally known, that beside many other ways they had of expressing their Meaning over their Liquor, it was the famous Health, which this Party at that Time more particularly drank, " To all those, who dare be honest in the worst of Times."— Now what Interpretation is it possible to put upon such Conduct, such Behaviour, so defended, but that these Gentlemen did not think the Times, then being, either bad enough, or favourable enough for them to shew themselves more openly; and to exert, what they mean in the Health by the

the Word *Honesty*, and what their Advocate more emphatically calls their *most truly British Courage and Resolution*.

I shall leave it, Gentlemen, to yourselves, to censure that rancorous and absurd Insinuation, that Persons, not only of the highest Distinction in their Country, but of the Number of the sincerest Friends to the Government, rejoic'd at their Hearts at the Troubles and Dangers of them ; and to judge, with what a very ill Grace such infamous Traducers, as these, presume to call the *well-grounded* Reports of those, whom they own *at least* to be Gentlemen, *scandalous* and *malicious*. — And so I leave him to enjoy his own Remarks, and the Reflections which he has given occasion to, with Regard to the Association.

In answer to the Inquiry, Whether the Old Interest implies some extraordinary Merit, and whether the Gentlemen concern'd in it have any peculiar Qualifications to recommend them to the favour of their Country? He tells you, " He shall be daring enough to affirm, that they are *Masters of extraordinary Merit* : " As if his Daringness in affirming was any kind of Proof of the Matter in question. You have already seen enough of him to know, what Credit ought to be given to the *Daringness* of his Affirmations. In this Place however, he attempts to offer a Reason for his Daringness; and the mighty Reason that his Gentlemen " are Masters of extraordinary Merit, " is this; " For they have ever acted justly, independently, constitutionally. " I will allow, that this

Argument wou'd have been a proper one, if in the first Place he had prov'd, that these Titles *do really* belong to those Gentlemen, as he pretends; and then, that they belong to them *extraordinarily and peculiarly*. But both these Points rest with him upon his own bare Word. On the other hand, that you may be convinc'd, how peculiarly or truly they do belong to them, and how justly, regularly, impartially and independently, and with what regard to the Constitution of their Country, and in particular to Your Rights and Liberties they have ever acted, I appeal to the Fact of the Summons to the Meeting at which they were nominated, and to the other Facts already mention'd.

In Answer to the Query made on the Occasion of these Gentlemen professing themselves, so remarkably as they do, the Friends of *Old England*, Whether they have no Affection or Love for *present England*, This Writer does not take upon him to say, that they have any Affection to the *present Constitution, as by Law establish'd, since the Revolution*; which wou'd have been a direct Answer to the obvious Meaning of the Question; since the Phrase *Old England* is generally, and with good Reason understood to imply *the State of Things* in this Nation *before* that memorable Period. To pass over therefore the other Parts of his Answer, which are either ambiguous or little to the Purpose; he tells you first in general, that "they are Friends to KINGS and Kingly Government;" and in the next Place, when after some Pause he vouchsafes to speak of A KING in particular

lar, he has nothing more to say, than that these Gentlemen *themselves* know, that they act as they do, that is, in perpetual Opposition to the Administration of the present Government, from a real Affection to "THEIR ROYAL MASTER." Now if there be no mysterious Meaning, no mental Reservation in the Words "THEIR ROYAL MASTER," nor in those quoted before of "*their waiting the Commands of HIS MAJESTY*;" Why is *no Body else* to know, what *they* know of this Matter, but *themselves* and their Friends privately? Are they not in a publick Station? Have their Constituents no Right to know them? Why then is THEIR KING's or ROYAL MASTER's Name not mention'd? Why are the People suffer'd to be so much deluded by their *affected Silence* about it? Why has it been so *industriously* omitted, in all their publick Advertisements; in all the Papers of every Sort, that have been wrote for them on the present Occasion; especially, when the Liberty has been taken frequently and publickly to Question, Whether they dare speak *openly and honestly* on that Subject?

As to what is surmis'd, that the Author of the Address treats the *Word* Disinterestedness "despicably," I suppose he means Contemptuously, it is deny'd that he does; though the *Thing*, which this Party covers under that good Name, it is insisted, that he or any one else may *justly hold in Contempt*, as well as their *Honesty*; another very good Appellation, which they appropriate to themselves, and stamp upon every

every Man of their Profession in Politicks, how great a *Knave* or *Villain* soever he be with respect to Morality, or in the Affairs of common Life.

I am so well convinced, (and so I am persuaded is my Adversary too,) of the Pertinency of what is produc'd in the Address to shew, how *interestedly* this Party hath ever acted, both in former Reigns and in later Times; that in the Confidence of it, I shall presume, for your father Confirmation in the Truth of what was advanc'd on this Head, to refer you to the Account of the most *wickedly interested* Views of this Party, publish'd by Ld B——ke, who had been himself at the Head of it, at Home, and in the Year 1715 was Secretary of State to the *Pretender* abroad, and in that Station concern'd in planning the Rebellion of that Year in a Correspondence with Sir Wm W——m, who was then the Leader of the *Tories* in England, and the chief Man in the then Opposition to the Administration and Government.

My good Adversary thinks proper to advise you to “be watchful, that you elect Persons well attach'd to Church as well as State, whose religious as well as political Sentiments intitle them to the Denomination of *good Old Christians*, as well as *good Old Englishmen*.” The Denomination of *good Old Englishmen* has been already consider'd under the Article of Affection to *Old England* and elsewhere; and as to the other Denomination of *good Old Christians*, I confess I cannot determine with myself, whether he is serious, or not, in the Use of so serious an Appellation. However, to humour the Gentleman;

man ; if he knows any Thing of the University of *Oxford*, I will remind him, that Ld P——r and Sir E—d T——r were both bred up there ; that they continued in the University as long as Persons of their Rank and Fortune usually do ; that they behav'd all the Time with remarkable Regularity, and attended with great Diligence all the Opportunities of Instruction and Improvement, whether of a learned, moral, or religious Kind, which that Seat of Education so eminently affords. And how well they have in Fact answer'd those Opportunities, that I leave to the Judgment of the World.—I am conscious, that the candid Letter-writer may in this, as he did in the Character of the same Gentleman given in the Address, discover some Aspersions touching his Friends. I cannot help it, if he does. I am content, that what is said, is true of the Gentlemen, of whom it is said.

And now we come to the famous Affair of re-building the Town-Hall. And here this Writer charges his Adversary with such an incontinent Degree of “ Party-rage,” (though he confesses, that in this very Part of the Address, which he is remarking upon, some Merit was allow'd to one of the Friends of his Party ; though he in no Place himself allows the least Degree of Merit to any of its Opponents, neither Writers nor Gentlemen ;) as cannot forbear shewing itself in the most audacious Manner, by no less than “ a notorious Falshood, and a “ most flagrant Misrepresentation of the Point.” But instead of attempting to confute, or even to deny the Facts, as they were alledg'd by his Adversary ;

Adversary ; he only proposes a Question or two ; which Questions, if they were allow'd to him, as he wou'd have them, wou'd not contradict those Facts, as they were alledg'd. For of what Significancy, good Sir, is it to enquire, what few Persons of either Interest were " most " early " in their Subscriptions ? or what few Instances of particular Persons (for you carefully assign no Number) there were, " who declar'd, they wou'd never subscribe " ? Of what Significancy, I say, is it to put the honest Freeholders upon these trifling Enquiries, which you ought yourself to have made, and eas'd them of their Trouble, if you had thought they were of any Consequence ? And what Relation has this to the general Question, WHICH of the two Interests dropt the Subscription, when it was on Foot, and in a fair Way of succeeding, if it had been carried on ? Or WHICH then propos'd the Method of TAXING, instead of it ? If *Subscribing* was right and generous, and *Taxing* wrong and mean, I must still insist upon it, that the more Reproach is due to those, who propos'd this latter Method ; and the greater Shame to them, that they dropt the Former, when they had begun it, and were so nobly encourag'd by the LORD LIEUTENANT of the County, and his Friends to go on.

I must not forbear, Gentlemen, to acknowledge on this Subject my Adversary's Ingenuousness (for, I think, I have not omitted to do so, wherever I have had an Opportunity ;) in owning, " You might assure yourselves, that if
" the

“ the Subscription had been carried on, you
 “ wou’d have seen at least as much Money col-
 “ lected” from the one Interest, as from the
 other. WHY then, we may ask him again,
 Was the Subscription not carried on? And
 WHO substituted a TAX instead of it? These
 Questions he chuses to be excus’d from
 making any Answer to: He does not care to
 touch, though ever so lightly, upon them;
 and, being utterly at a Loss for any particular
 Argument, at this dead Lift, is oblig’d to have
 Recourse to the General and only strong Argu-
 ment of his Party, That one Interest truly is
 “ *the Old*” one, and the other “ *New*, and till
 “ *now unheard of* ;” the very Answer in so ma-
 ny Words, which the Papists made against the
 Reformers ; only substituting the Word *Religion*
 in the Place of *Interest*. But may one not re-
 ply (in like Manner as the Reformers did,) if
 the latter Interest be the *true* Interest of the
 County, no Matter how *new* it be ; and Confu-
 sion belongs to those, who by their *Noise* and
Clamour have misled the People, and prevented
 the *Voice of Truth* so long from being heard.
 And if the other Interest by its enormous Abuses
 and Irregularities hath so impair’d its Strength,
 as that it is now in a *quite crazy Condition*, and
ready to fall to Pieces, it is no Credit to it, that
 at the Age of *Forty Three* it is grown so *Old*,
 and is in the utmost Distress in coping with so
Young an Adversary.

Since it is thought proper to harp upon the
 Words *Peace* and *Disturbance*, I must inform
 this Writer, that this also hath been the Cant of

all *Impostors*, who have ever happen'd to steal into the Possession of Credit and Power. Thus against the Endeavours of those, who *reform'd* this Nation from *Popish* Idolatry and other scandalous Superstitions, it was the Cry of the *Impostors* concern'd in the Continuance of that Idolatry, that the *Peace of the Church* was *disturb'd* by those Endeavours. And thus at Ephesus the *Craftsmen*, whose Business it was to make the Shrines or Images of *Diana* for the simple People to buy and worship, when their *Craft* was in *Danger*, rais'd a *Mob* and Outcry against the APOSTLES, that the DISTURBERS of the World were come among them also. All, who judge rightly of such Matters, ever look upon *those* who give Occasion to a just and necessary Opposition, and *not those* who in that Case oppose, as the *real Disturbers* of the publick Tranquillity.—Accordingly the present Contest is not a Contest betwixt *particular Persons*, but a Contest betwixt *two Interests or Parties* of the County, possessed of *very different* Principles and actuated by *very different* Inclinations in the great Concern of Civil Government. And the County, so far from having Reason to be *disoblig'd*, is certainly *oblig'd* to those Gentlemen who have rais'd up the present *fair* Opportunity for it to manifest it's own *real* Sentiments and Inclinations, and to wipe off that *unjust*, as I believe, *Aspersions*, which has too long lain upon it, of being wanting in that Respect and Affection, which is due to the justest and mildest of Sovereigns, and to that Establishment of Government we and our
Fathers

Fathers have been born and bred under, and by which it is acknowledg'd by all intelligent Persons, both at Home and Abroad, our Rights and Liberties are better ascertain'd and secur'd, than ever they were, before the famous *Expulsion of Popery and Tyranny* out of these Kingdoms by the *Revolution*.

It seems to me remarkable, that the Writer I am engag'd with, hath taken so little notice, as he has done, of the late Affair concerning the Jews. He only drops a Hint about it, to shew, that he was not ignorant of the general Dislike to it. I confess I was so much surpris'd at this Silence of His on so popular a Topic, that I knew not how to account for it; 'till I consider'd, that probably he was either apprehensive, that Matter wou'd not bear a serious Debate; or rather conscious, that it cou'd reflect no Advantage on the Gentlemen, whose Cause he pleads. I am no Advocate for that Act. Let it stand or fall, as its own Merits and the sense of the Nation shall determine. All I wou'd observe of it, is only with relation to the present Contest; that if upon Examination it appear to be a much less hurtful Thing, than you have been made to conceive of it; it is plain, with what Design at this Time your just Apprehensions have been so greatly alarm'd, and your Passions rais'd to the highest Pitch of Indignation and Horror: And if it be of ever so mischievous a Tendency, yet that the Candidates of the Old Interest can in Justice claim to themselves but a very moderate Share of Merit, if any, from what they did to oppose it; since

one of them confessedly was not present during the whole time that the Bill was depending : And all that is pretended the other did, was once to DIVIDE against it ; which whatever it implies, plainly does not mean, that He attended at the first or second reading of the Bill, nor at the Committee ; nor that at the third and last reading He spoke against it ; nor that he took any Pains publickly or privately to induce his Friends to vote against it ; nor that he so much as apply'd to his Fellow-Representatives of the County or City once to appear against it. It is surprizing surely, that the *same Gentlemen*, who at the time, when the Friends of the Government were associating themselves in the County to protect you against the Miseries of a powerful Rebellion ; that these Gentlemen should at that critical time think it their Duty to be so scrupulous about their Attendance at Parliament when the Parliament was not yet met, but only about to meet, as not to spare one Day to attend at the Association : And yet when so mischievous a Bill was depending, a Bill of more fatal Consequences, as they represent, than ten popish Rebellions, *they* should then either not attend at all, or attend so carelessly.

I must beg leave to trouble you, Gentlemen, with a short Remark or two more upon what remains of the Performance of the worthy Defender of the Old Interest. He calls the Charge upon his Friends of the "Slight" and "Neglect," or rather high Affront put upon the County, by summoning a Part instead of the Whole to nominate its Candidates, a "common,

mon, trite, and worn out Abuse." Thus are Your Rights and Liberties respected by this Writer: Whereas the same Thing appear'd to a News-Writer, (tho' the Tool of this Party, and not famous for being overstock'd with Candour, yet being in a more publick Light more oblig'd to observe the Forms of Decency) to be so flagrant an Offence, that even He allows the one Advertisement to be properly address'd, and does not disallow the other to be partial. Yet the Writer of a "few candid Remarks" (He did well to say *few*) has nothing else to say, having no other Permission from his Superiors, but that the Charge is "common, trite and worn-out Abuse." The Advertisement is publick with the Gentlemen's Names subscrib'd to it. It was improper and partial by the Confession of the publick News-Writer of the Party; it was in Truth an high Indignity and Insult upon their Constituents. They have never yet declar'd their Repentance for it: Nay, their Advocate calls the Charge of it upon those, who were guilty of it, even "Abuse" in those that charge it; and that with such a Degree of Insolence and Contempt of You, Gentlemen, as scarce any Thing can equal, but that with which the Fact itself was committed.

It is one of his candid Remarks, that the Author of the Address produc'd no Reason, why you shou'd be dispos'd to favour Ld P—r and Sir E—d T—r, but "the *sole one*, that they wish and desire it." You, Gentlemen, are appeal'd to, and you are the rightful Judges of this, as well as of all Matters relating to this
Dispute;

Dispute, whether *other* Reasons have not been offer'd, and those *sufficient* ones too, to incline your Choice towards those Gentlemen, both in the former Address and in this, which is founded upon the Matter furnish'd by that.

But 'tis certainly a most extraordinary Thing in this Remarker, unjustly to charge his Adversary with "*wantonly presuming* to direct" you in the Disposal of the Honours of the County; when at the same Time, he takes the Liberty to himself, I do not say *wantonly to direct You*, but to *bully* and *threaten* you, and in plain Words to tell you, not only that you are PERJUR'D, if you presume to act otherwise than he wou'd have you; but that you are also "guilty" in that Case even "of the *HIGHEST TRANSGRESSION* towards the Kingdom in general;" by which he doubtless means HIGH TREASON; as *that* is the highest Transgression against the Nation, and *no other* Transgression is so. As to *Perjury*, I am astonish'd, he shou'd bring the Word to your Recollection; since it is so well known, that the main Body of his Party, tho' all under the *Oaths of Allegiance to his present Majesty*, I mean even those who seem'd to be quiet, put on a very *particular* Kind of Appearance, and discover'd very *odd* Inclinations and Dispositions at the Time of the *late Rebellion*: Nay, to that Degree of Openness, that tho' they cou'd not yet permit you indeed to give them their proper Denomination, yet they wou'd have question'd your common Sense, if they thought you did not fully understand their Meaning.—And as to the other Crime, it is
certain

certain, that the Gentlemen He recommends, are in no Station, nor bear any Offices under their *lawful* Sovereign, or in the establish'd Government of these Kingdoms, to make the *rejecting of them* in the present State of Things in any Respect, or in any Degree like *High-Treason*. As therefore it seems to me utterly unaccountable, how it shou'd be so; I leave it to this Writer and his Friends, (if they have any secret Way among themselves) to explain this (otherwise) most extraordinary bold Position.

Upon the whole, Gentlemen, being apprehensive that it may possibly be made a *general* Objection to what is thus laid before You, that the Writer, I have been engag'd with, is a *pitiful* Defender of the Cause, He has undertaken; I must confess, that I have all along consider'd him pretty much in that light; and therefore have not confin'd, what I had to say, *to him*; but chiefly had in view the *main Facts*, upon which this Controversy ought to turn, and endeavour'd to put them in a clear light. And I am not indeed unwilling in behalf of my Antagonist, now that he seems to be on the ground, to own; that no one Writer of his whole Party has attempted to reason more, than He has done; and that he has this *peculiar* Merit among them to be the *First* and the *Last* who has hitherto put on so much as the form of Argument: And I wou'd observe farther in his Favour, that I believe truly, his main Deficiency is owing to the badness of his Cause at bottom. For what Orator or Reasoner can be otherwise than defective and superficial, when his Cause furnishes him with no proper Matter to plead upon.

on. He has nothing else to do in such case, but to make out what He wants in *Reason* and *Argument* by *bold Assertion* and *Abuse*.--Nevertheless, if he still thinks otherwise of his Cause than I do, and chuses to get up again in defence of it; or if any of his Friends imagine they can better maintain it by appearing in his stead, provided they lay aside those Weapons, which I do not understand, and vouchsafe to try a little cool Argument, they may depend upon a fair and proper Answer.

In the mean time, Gentlemen, if there appear any Merit in what I have done towards setting in a clearer light Matters which it concerns you to be properly acquainted with, and which the Industry of some Pretenders to a regard for You wou'd disguise or Misrepresent, as the Papers I have been considering too plainly shew: You will be pleas'd to allow me to intreat thus much of you; That those, who are not yet engag'd, wou'd suspend their Judgment and withhold their Determination till they find the Controversy finish'd to their Satisfaction: and that those, who have happen'd to be engag'd upon false Surmises and Misrepresentations of Facts since detected, wou'd consider, how far they are oblig'd to stand to Engagements upon unfair and deceitful grounds: For it is a plain thing to all the World, and it wou'd be an Affront to any Man's Understanding to suppose, He did not see, that NO ENGAGEMENT IS BINDING, IF THE FACTS OR CONDITIONS, UPON WHICH IT WAS MADE, ARE NOT REAL.

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